PERMANENT CONFISCATION

We have recently directed the attention of our readers to the issue that has been made in the present Congress and elsewhere for the purpose of over-riding the terms of the confiscation act, as passed by the last Congress and approved by the with his constitutional opinions, declaring that in proceedings under the act no confiscation of real convicted of treason. Such was the construction But when measures are proposed like the confis which the President, supported by the highest authority in the land, gave to the clause of the Constitution which enjoins that "Congress shall have ' power to declare the punishment of treason ; but on attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the ' person attainted."

It is safe to say that there were not two opinions in this country upon the meaning of this clause, so long as its interpretation was left to depend upon the unbiassed construction and interpretation of its language. But when the minds of men came to consider it under the stress of certain wishes to do what the plain terms of the clause did not allow, a resort was had to "construction construed" for the purpose of extorting from it the desired signification. It is not the first time that the Constitution has been subjected to the rack and the thumbscrew, but we have never witnessed an instance in which the violence done to its terms and spirit was applied with less discretion or reason.

Disregarding alike the plain letter of the Constitution, the known scruples of the President, the declared weight of authority, the admonitions of history, the impulses of natural justice, and the most obvious considerations of public expediency, the advocates of this change in the policy of the confiscation act seek to impress on the legislation of our country under this head a character for ferocity which revives the worst traditions of despotic Governments in barbarous ages. Their minds are so filled with thoughts of revenge that, in meting out punishments to traitors, they seem to forget not only what is due to the Constitution, but to themselves. And this innovation on that instrument and on the spirit of the age is pressed upon the attention of Congress and the country, in the hope, we suppose, that few will be found brave enough to lift their voices in condemnation of any thing that seems harsh and violent if professedly directed against "the enemies of the country."

There is a class of men who habitually mistake violence for force, and passion for earnestness, or who suppose that the people cannot discriminate between the rant of "loyalty" and the genuine sentiment. It is assumed by this class that they occupy a "coigne of vantage" if they can take any position which places their antagonists under the odium of seeming to "ask for tenderness towards rebels." We should be sorry to think that the species of moral cowardice upon which such men depend for their hopes of success was as prevalent as is supposed. We trust that we may never live to see the day when we shall lack the courage to defend our honest opinions because of the odium which it may be falsely sought to east upon them by those who find it more within the range of their limited by him on the 8th of January: capacities to impute to us improper motives than to not they who oppose this measure, who are called to exonerate themselves from the suspicion of actthe Senste which I think will satisfy them of the necessity and propriety of instituting some of these inquiries. It will be seen by the estimates of expenses, that we are called upon to appropriate this year \$142,000,000 for naval purposes. This sum is large or small by comparison. I have been at some pains to look at the naval expenditures of the civilized world, as they have been furnished me by desire the passage of sweeping and unrelenting confiscation acts by the Congress of the United States? Does any one doubt that they wish success to the new movement made in this direction? Or does any one doubt that the necessary—we do not say the designed—consequences of all such measures is to overleap their aim and to furnish a fresh fulcrum over which the waning strength of the revolt may bend itself to new endeavors in the work of insurging the Southern masses?

\$59,402,940; of France for 1863 as voted by the Corps Legislatif, \$36,000,000; of Spain for 1862-63, \$19,421,617; of Russis for 1862, \$15,442,373; of Austria per budget of 1863, \$5,314,000; of the Netherlands for 1862, \$3,633,436; of Sweden for 1863, \$3,503,406; of Prussis for 1862, \$1,489,260; of Portugal for 1862-63, \$111,660. These sams are given in dollars, and they comprise the naval expenses of all the civilized nations of the world, with the exception of Italy and Denmark. Italy and Denmark publish no naval expenses; but the expenses the civilized world for a year, taking sometimes 1862, and sometimes 1862 and 1863, and sometimes 1862, and sometimes 1862 confiscation acts by the Congress of the United the work of insurging the Southern masses?

While, therefore, we do not impugn the motives of any who injudiciously press these extreme measures, we do charge that all such measures are directly ancillary to the treasonable purposes of the insurgents, and contribute, according to their kind and in their way, as directly to the resources of the enemy for continuing the war as the agents who furnish him with powder and arms; for whatever severity of legislation tends to accumulate and intensify the resistance of the Southern people, without proportionally strengthening our hands, is just so much "aid and comfort" given to the leaders of the rebellion.

The following judicious observations of an Administration paper, the New York Times, serve to show that the true view of the topic in question is not confined to any party, and that the President still has among his political friends those who will not do contemptuous despite to his conscientious convictions of public duty :

From the New York Times of January 23d. The question of permanent confiscation which is now engaging the attention of the House is one of very great moment. It will be remembered that the original measure concerning confiscation, which passed Congress eighteen months ago, made a general sweep of the property of rebels, both real and personal, and for time. The President returned the bill with objections against that clause making confiscation of real estate extend beyond the lifetime of the traitor, because of its doubtful constitutionality. The clause was modified so as to confine the confiscation to the life interest, and in that shape became a law. A strong effort is now being made to restore the clause to its original shape, so as to make the confiscation permapent. The matter has become one of immediate practical importance. A large amount of real estate, belonging to rebels, is now in the hands of the Government, and in jussice to the National Treasury, as well as to the neglected property itself, some disposition must be made of it. But if any thing more than a life interest is to be transferred, new legislation is necessary before the sale.

The constitutional bearings of the question, turning upon the legal signification and effect of the term " attainder of treason," we do not care to discuss. It seems to us that andue attention has been given to it in Congress-many seeming to think that if the right of wholesale confiscation could be established there could be no further question. But there is a further question, and one of vast consequence. It is that of equity and good policy. Is it wise to exercise the right ?

It will not do to gauge these great State measures, as

justice. If the old pagan Romans could say the highest | ustice the highest injury-summum jus, summa injuria t certainly behooves a christian nation to be mindful of it. Abstract principles are good to their place, but political problems involve so many and often so conflicting interests that a large survey is needed, and a practical expediency and liberal equity should have play as well as abstract right. Extreme measures against the rebels, which shall involve not only themselves, but women and children in an indiscriminate ruin, may perhaps satisfy a certain grim eraving for terrible retribution, but they will not be sanctioned by the public opinion of Christendom, and will President. It is known that the existing act was sooner or later, induce a reaction of sympathy which will accompanied by an explanatory resolution, adopted deprive them of all beneficial effect. We must not forget at the instance of the President, and in conformity that our enemies are men, whatever their wrong-doing Any present injury we can do them, in order to bring them to terms, consistent with the laws of modern warfare, is admissible and becoming. We have ourselves continu estate should extend beyond the life of the person ally urged that the blows should fall heavily and rapidly now before the House, that inflict misery for the future rather than the present, that are retributive rather than restorative, we can no longer urge. It is a subject tha

should be reserved for the calmest deliberation. We have not searched history particularly upon the subject, but we can recall no instance of such sweeping wholesale confiscations as this bill contemplates. The old Roman Empire has the name of being about as hard a conqueror as the world has seen, and yet its usage was not to confiscate the property of its enemy entirely, but to reserve for the original proprietor one-third, for the subsistence of himself and family. Cromwell's confiscations in Ireland, which have always figured as particularly severe, were yet attended with allotments in Connaught such as the Protector deemed sufficient for family suport. Russia's regime over Poland after the insurre of 1830 has been considered almost merciless. Fifty thousand Poles were sent to Siberia, and about ten thousand estates were confiscated. But these estates were only a small proportion of the old soil of Poland. In the tate of Virginia alone there are over a hundred thousand freeholds; within the limits of the "Confederacy" at least three-fourths of a million. Nearly all of this vast amount of real estate would be forfeited forever by its present proprietors if this confiscation measure were carried out according to its terms; for there is hardly a real estate owner in the South who has not participated in the rebellion in one way or another. Such sweeping work. were it practicable, would throw into the shade every thing of the kind known to history.

The object of the Polish and the Irish confis was to make quiet subjects. Their success may be read n the chronic discontent and repeated insurrections of the two countries down to the present day. The object of our confiscations must be to make willing citizens, for our republican system admits of no such condition as that of subjects. We may strip these rebels of their posses sions, if we please, but we have got hereafter to share political power with them, and so have our children with their children. We would like to have some of these wholesale confiscators answer us this question: If-qualified or limited confiscations in Ireland or Poland failed to make good subjects, how will unqualified and unlimited confisca tions make good citizens?

There are two great objects, each of supreme conse nuence. The first is to bring this war to the speediest ose consistent with the preservation of the Union. The second, to bury the bitter feelings of the war as soon afterward as possible, in order that the Union may be ever afterward at peace with itself.

Permanent confiscation does not help the first object one whit more than would the confiscation of the life interests. It directly defeats the second object, for it would entail inextinguishable heartburnings upon the posterity of the present rebels for generations to come. The one ort of confiscation, succeeded by a restoration of proper ty to the family, might in a few years be forgotten. The other, so long as human nature remains what it is, would ever cease to rankle.

We trust that Congress will study not simply the subject which passion should not be allowed to approach.

The coolest judgment alone should settle it. So far as depended on the President it was so settled, and most wisely

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT

In the Senate, on Monday last-

Mr. HALE called up the followin

Resolved, That the Committee on Naval Affairs he in

answer our arguments. But, in truth, the present case is not one in which there is room for any such test of courage or constancy, as it is they who advocate,

Mr. Halk said: I want to make a few statements to the Senste which I think will satisfy them of the necessity and sometimes 1863, as they are given, amount in gross to \$138,318,692, so that we are called upon to spend this year some four million dollars more than all the rest of the world with the exception of Italy and Denmark.

It may be said, and said with truth, that these are ex-

penditures in time of peace. I have been at some pains to look over the expenditures of England and France in the gigantic struggle of the Crimean war. That war was declared on the 27th of March, 1854, and the Crimea was evacuated by the Allies July 12, 1857, lasting a little more than three years and five mooths. The total naral ex-penditures of Great Britain during the war were \$262, 032,210, and of France \$87,877,578, making a total of \$349,909,788 for the whole naval expenses of France and England during the Crimean war, which was less than England during the Crimean war, which was less than \$100,000,000 a year; so that we are called upon this year to appropriate for our navy \$40,000 000 more than was spent by the combined nations of France and England in any one year during the Crimean war. I have got these statistics for the purpose of letting the Senate and the country see what we are asked to do.

But, Mr. President, I want to call the attention of my

friend from Iowa (Mr. GRIMES) to an explanation which he made of a bill where extravagant prices were paid, and I want to say to him that the explanation which he gave, to my mind, is entirely unsatisfactory, and that I am in-formed by those who pretend to know that in that class of supplies where a thousand per cent. was paid above the market price, there is not a single article that was unde These are matters that I think aught to be inquired into, and there are matters that I think aught to be inquired into, and there are some other matters that I think ought to be inquired into. I think there is something very singular in regard to the mode of furnishing supplies. But I judge from the manifestations the other day that the Senate are rother averse to making these inquiries, or at least averse to trusting them to the Committee on Ngval Affairs If I ever spoke the truth in all my life, or ever hope to do so, declare that nothing on earth would relieve me more than that the Senate should take this matter from the Naval Committee and give it to a select committee, and that they should be instructed to make these inquiries

It seemed to be inclusted for make these inquiries look to opposition to the Navy Department, and, I believe, to the Administration. Not so, Mr. President. I am not here to-day to make a profession of faith. If the history of my humble life has not classed me, it would be idle for me to undertake to do it by any professions now. I was opposed to stealing from the Treasury when it was done by the Democrats. I am not in favor of having it done by any body. I do not say that it is done, but I say there are things that ought to be investigated. Sir, the Good Book tells us that Judas Iscariot was a third and carried the bag that held the contributions which belonged to the twelve disciples in common; and I suppose that if any body questioned his integrity Judas pronounced him at once a fee of Christ and Christ anity. Not so, sir; if there be dishenest practices, if there be defects in the law, if there be any thing wrong, all on earth that I ask is that there may be an forcest iconive into it.

mest inquiry into it.
Mr. Halle modified his resolution, at the suggestion Mr. GRIMES, so as to make it read as follows Resolved. That a select committee of three be appointed y the Chair to investigate the subject of naval supplies, and hat they have power to send for persons and papers and

many are disposed to do, by the stern standards of abstract | The resolution, as thus amended, was adopted.

POLITICAL INCONSTANCY.

Many intelligent observers of the shifting phases assumed by popular opinion at the present period in our history have expressed their surprise at the sudden and radical mutations which it has under- Mr. Stirling introduced a joint resolution approving of the gone according to the drift of events or the oscilla- Administration of President Lincoln, endorsing his amtions of political and military power in the progress of the war. Equal, perhaps even greater surprise has been expressed at the facility with which some men have modulated their personal opinions in conformity with the conceived predominance of certain principles and policies in the administration of the Government, insomuch that it is no uncommon thing to witness among the most blatant of the "friends of freedom" some of the very men who were the most conspicuous for their subservience to the "slave power," so long as that political element was a power in the land.

To the careful reader of history there is nothing surprising in such phenomena. They are among the marks of a revolutionary epoch in all ages and among all nations. Schiller, in his History of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, remarks on the mortifying fact that during that "time of storm and pressure" whole communities were seen to change their nominal religious creed with the the legal voters of the State, as ascertained by the votes change of their political allegiance, which latter of the State at the last election for electors of President was dependent upon the character of the army votes to 13, an amendment providing that unless Congress under whose sway they had come for the time being. shall make an appropriation before the 20th of March, Where Wallenstein pitched his tents the people 1864, to aid the State of Maryland in carrying out the imwere Imperialists and Catholies; where Gustavus | mediate emancipation of slavery, the Governor shall issue Adolphus marched with his conquering legions the null and void. The Senate adopted, by 20 votes to 1, an people were Royalists and Protestants; and the frequency with which these changes occurred came requiring that the judges of election, in their return of in the end, says the historian, to leave an injurious the votes cast for or against a convention, shall certify impression on the manliness of the population thus that no organized military or other armed force had apaffected by them. And as in Germany, so also in France, where during the last seventy years political revolutions have been most frequent, the same it shall be the duty of the Governor to order a new elecsudden changes have been seen in the person of tion after ten days' notice in such election district or prewhole communities, and particularly of individuals cinet. In the House, the resolutions approving of Mr. filling a large space in the popular eye, whether as soldiers, statesmen, or courtiers. So true is this, Mr. Tyson proposed to strike out of the convention bill and so keen is the perception of the fact among the whole of the test oath, and he and the Speaker (Mr. the French people, that some years ago a "Dictionary of Weathercocks" was published for the House adjourned without coming to a vote. diversion of the wits of Paris. In this Dictionary a record was made of the names of those who at different periods in the recent history of France had turned their faces in different directions, according to the quarter from which favor and emolument were seen to come. And after some of challenged voters. Mr. Jones proposed a modification of these names, says Dr. Lieber, in referring to this the oath. Mesers. Tyson, of Howard, and Clarke, of pleasant book, there was a fearful row of hieroglyphical vanes, significant of the frequency and facility with which the persons who bore them had shifted their attitude.

When, therefore, we witness the spectacle of men once notorious for their servility to the political power of the South, but who now make broad surprised, as though this generation or this country had produced any thing more monstrous than belongs to the ordinary developments of a troublous not be explained by transparent motives of cupidity, leading men to have a keen perception of prithere are still other considerations which enable us ment, and made the special order for Wednesday. to perceive its origin without being under the necessity of ascribing it to conscious dishonesty. And application of the false maxim, Vox populi, vox Dei. He says :

" However indistinct the meaning of the maxim may be, the idea intended to be conveyed and the imposing character, of the saying have nevertheless contributed to produce in some countries a general inability to remain in the opposition-that necessary element of civil liberty. A degree of shame seems there to be attached to a person that does not swim with the broad stream. No matte what flagrant contradictions may take place, or however sudden the changes may be, there seems to exist in every one a feeling of discomfort, until he has joined the general one a feeling of discomfort, until he has joined the general current. To differ from the dominant party or the ruling majority appears almost like daring to contend with a deity, or a mysterious yet irrevocable destiny. To dis-sent is deemed to be malcontent; it seems more than re-bellious, it seems traitorous; and this feeling becomes ul-timately so general that it seizes the dissenting individuals the meelves. They become ashamed, and mingle with the rest. Individuality is destroyed, manly character degenerates, and the salutary effect of parties is forfeited. He that clings to his conviction is put in ban as unnational, and as an enemy to the people."

LOUISIANA

Gen. Banks's proclamation ordering a State election in Louisiana is said to have taken all parties by surprise, and to have disconcerted many plans. Apparently it disturbed some of the schemes of the Free State General calling for a special election in the Indiana Senatorial dis Committee; for on the next day that body passed a series trict to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation. of resolutions, which, after reciting that "whereas N. P. Banks, Major General," &c., had issued this proclamation, proceeded in the following very cool strain:

Committee, not relinquishing its judgment that the only true path to reconstruction is a convention to form a new constitution before any election for State officers; and not renouncing its lawful claim to have slavery abolished immediately without the dangers of any futile scheme of gradual emandipation; and not yielding its assent to the idea that the election of seven executive officers can, by any proper use of terms, be styled the Civil Government of Louisiana; but nevertheless recognising the patrictic " Therefore be it resolved, That this Free State General of Louisiana; but nevertheless recognising the patriotic duty of endeavoring to place in office men whose opinions are in harmony with the wants of Louisiana and the spirit of the age, will take part in the elections.

The resolutions then give in detail a plan of represen tation in the Convention which the Committee recom mends, and advise that delegates should take the oath prescribed by the President's amnesty proclamation, " and the oath of the Free State General Committee."

BLOCKADE RUNNERS ARRESTED

Patrolman Cline, of the first district, on Tuesday stopwatches, five Georgia State bonds of \$1,000, and two hours' speech, in which he took grounds in favor of North Carolina State bonds. The following are their names: Thomas Clayton, Samuel Palmer, Jas. Thomas I referred to the committee, it would merely be a matter for inquiry.

In the speedy abolition of slavery and the restoration of Tennames: Thomas Clayton, Samuel Palmer, Jas. Thomas I referred to the committee, it would merely be a matter for inquiry.

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In the speedy abolition of slavery and the restoration of Tennames: Thomas Clayton, Samuel Palmer, Jas. Thomas I referred to the committee, it would merely be a matter for inquiry. Chris. Balgis, and E. S. Ebbs. They were sent to the Gld Capitol by the Provost Marshal

LARGE PROFITS.

The profits of the Massachusetts manufacturers during the past six months have been very great. Large sums baye been carried to the reserve fund for the improveof \$1,763,200 .- Boston Journal.

Gen. Reservans, it is stated, has been assigned to the military department of Missouri, relieving Gen. Schofield, who has proceeded to Knoxville, Tennessee, to relieve one-half of the entire number—have been lost to the ser-Gen. Foster, who is reported to be too sick for duty.

MARYLAND LEGISLATURE.

In the Maryland Senate on Wednesday Mr. Briscoe in troduced resolutions to pay the people of Maryland for the "unlawful seizure" of their property by the "military forces of the United States and of the Confederate States." nesty proclamation, and declaring that his re-election to the Presidency of the United States "is the earnest desire of a vast majority of the loyal people of Maryland." The resolution was briefly discussed and then laid over. The special order of the day, the bill reported by the joint committee providing for the calling of a State Constitutional Convention, gave rise to a spirited discussion, which lasted up to the adjournment without any direct vote

In the House of Delegates on the same day the bill re ported by Mr. Stockbridge providing for the calling of a State Constitutional Convention was taken up and passed to a second reading. The bill reported by the mine the committee was offered as a substitute, but a vote on the motion had not been reached when the House adjourned. On a motion to amend Mr. Stockbridge's bill so as to postpone the election of delegates to the Convention until 1865, the vote stood ayes 15, nays 51.

The Maryland House of Delegates on Thursday rejected. providing that the tote of the people necessary to sustain the call for a convention shall be and Vice President." The House also rejected, by 51 amendment to the convention bill offered by Mr. Ricaud, peared at the place where the polls had been held and interfered with the said election; and in cases of such military interference within any election district or precinct Lincoln's policy and favoring his re-election were adopted by 40 votes to 22. In the House of Delegates, on Friday Kemp) addressed the House in favor of the motion, but

The proceedings in the Maryland Senate on Monday were not important. The Convention bill was not taken up. In the House of Delegates the Convention bill was again under consideration. Mr. Stockbridge addressed the House at length in favor of retaining the section authorizing the administration of an oath of allegiance to Prince George's, spoke in opposition to the oath A vote was finally taken, and the section requiring a test oath was stricken out-ayes 33, nays 28; twelve members being

The Maryland Senate on Tuesday again had the "conention bill" under consideration. Amendments proposing to make the compensation of slave-owners a condition precedent to emancipation were rejected-ayes 8, nays 10. the phylacteries of a Pharisaic homage to "Loy. The House of Delegates also had up the convention bill. alty" and " Liberty," we have no occasion to be Mr. Tyson and Mr. Clarke offered amendments requiring certificates from the judges of elections that no test oath had been required from voters, and that no military interference had been used to intimidate voters. In case of either being required or used a new election to be ordered time. And where this mutability of opinion can- by the Government. Mr. Clarke's amendment was rejected-ayes 17, nays 54. Mr. Tyson's amendment, which is the same as the amendment adopted in Senate, was also rejected-ayes 19, nays 51. At the evening session the vate advantage as well as of public expediency, bill was ordered to a third reading without further amend-

POLITICS IN MARYLAND.

BER, in commenting on the perverted use and of the Hou. MONTGOMERY BLAIR, Mr. Senator Hicks, and Hon. THOMAS SWANN, delivered before the Maryland Legislature, at Annapolis, on Friday evening. Mr. BLAIR's speech is confined to a general discussion of the causes of the rebellion and an advocacy of the President's emancipation and amnesty proclamations. It does not touch upon State matters. Senator HICES spoke very briefly, and declared himself in favor of prompt action by the State in reference to emancipation. "There is," he save. "no practical benefit in temporizing over a subject which

Speaker of the State Senate having acquired positive knowledge that Senator White, of Indiana county, has resigned his seat in the Senate and that the resignation is in the hands of his father, Judge White, has determined to put an end to the legislative dead-lock at Harrisburg, by issuing a writ, pursuant to the requirements of the law,

THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

It is stated that the following delegates have been elected to the Virginia Constitutional Convention; Alexandria county, Walter L. Penn; Fairfax, John Hawxhurst; Alexandria and Fairfax senstorial, district, Samuel Beach Prince William county, William C. Athey; Norfolk and county, Dr. Webb and Mr. Winn. The vote was light at most of the polling places.

There was a large meeting in Nashville on the evening of the 22d instant to consult on the restoration of the civi government in the State. Over two thousand persons were in attendance. Resolutions were passed recognising the authority of the National Government to secure a republican government in the rebellious States by appointing military Governors; denouncing slavery as an evil in itself, and as the cause of the rebellion; and advising the reorganization of the State Government by a Constitutional Convention composed of delegates pledged te immediate and universal emancipation. The resolutions comped the stage from Port Tobacco and arrested several mend the integrity and fidelity of Governor Johnson, and persons who proved to be blockade runners, and lately request him to call such a Convention. A committee was from Richmond. On their persons were found between appointed to select delegates to the "Southern Free State thirty and forty thousand dollars in gold, twenty two gold Convention" in Louisville. Governor Johnson made a

WISCONSIN AND THE WAR. The message of the Governor of Wisconsin shows the

financial, educational, and commercial condition of the State to be inferior to that of no other State in the Union. The debt of the State is \$1,774,000, much of which was incurred in putting soldiers in the field, and the remainder ment or extension of the works, and dividends averaging in building the State Capitol, &c. The amount which is ten per cent, in gold have been declared by twenty-three expected to be repaid by the Government will be sufficient pulls. These twenty-three mills, with a capital on the to liquidate all State indebtedness. In contributing men Old specie basis of \$26,340,000, pay, according to the United States Economist, an aggregate currency dividend of November last she had placed in the field thirty-four regiments of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, twelve batteries of light artillery, three batteries of heavy artilvice by death, disability, or discharge.

CONGRESSION AL.

In the House of Representatives, on Monday,

Mr. DAWES, from the Committee on which were referred the credentials of A. P. Field, claiming to be elected from the State of Louisians, submitted a report, accompanied by the following resolution: Resolved, That A. P. Field is not entitled to a seat in this

Mr. DAWES, from the same committee, to whom eferred the credentials of Joseph Segar, claiming to be Representative from the State of Virginia, also made a report in that case, accompanied by the following resolu-

Resolved, That Joseph Segar is not entitled to a seat in

Mr. UPSON said that while be concurred in the result

expressed in the resolution, he did not agree to some of the statements contained in the report.

The reports and resolutions were laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

Mr. McDOWELL offered the following series of resoutions, and moved the previous question on their adop-

fundamental provision of the Constitution of the Unite-States which guarantees the FREEDOM OF SPEECH to every American citizen; and that neither the President, nor any reon acting in a subordinate capacity to him, has the right-authority to arrest and imprison a citizen of the Loyal attes for the utterance of sentiments distasteful to the men power.

States for the utterance of sentiments discasteful to the men in power.

2. That we recognise in the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS the great bulwark of civil liberty; and that those persons temporabily intrusted with power have not the rightful authority, in those States not in rebellion, to tubvert this great constitutional guarantee by issuing military orders, or by a resort to any other means unknown to the laws of the country.

3. That the right to secority of persons from arrest, in the Loyal States, when no crime is charged, is a sacred right guarantied to every citizen; and that neither the President, nor any one acting by his authority, has the legal right to arrest, imprison, or transport our people without "due process of law," requiring affidavit, warrant, arrest, and trial by a jury of the country imparitally selected.

4. That the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus is a fundamental and inherent right belonging to the American people, solemnly guarantied by express provision of the Constitution, that rannot be denied to the citizens of the Loyal States, where the courts are open and the administration of justice unobs ructed, and "invasion and rebellion" do not exist.

tates.

6. That we reaffirm our unalterable devotion to the Consti 5. That we reaffirm our unalterable devotion to the Constitution of the United States, and to each and every provision thereof, as framed by the fathers, including those provision relating to the rights of property and the inviolability of contracts, as understood and interpreted by the Supreme Confort the United States.

The previous question was not seconded, and Mr. WASHBURNE, of Illinois, proposing to debate to esolutions, they were laid over under the rule.

PEACE RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. EDGERTON offered the following resolution:
emanded the previous question on their adoption:

Whereas this House, on the 17th day of December la Whereas this it use, on the 17th day of December has, adopted, with but one dissentient vote, the following resoution, to wit: "Resolved, That we hold it to be the duty of Congress to pass all necessary bills to supply men and money, and the duty of the people to render every aid in their power to the constituted authorities of the Government in the crushing out of the rebellion, and in beinging the leaders thereof to condign punishment:" Therefore, in explanation of the foregoing resolution, and in further expression of the opinion and management of the House.

Resolved. That the aid hitherto liberally supplied in man and money, by the people of the United States, to enable the Federal Executive to prosecute the existing civil war has been so supplied, by all citizens truly faithful to the Federal Union and Constitution, for the purpose, and no other, expressed in the resolution adopted by Congress in July, 1861, declarative of the object of the war, and commonly known as "the Crititenden resolution;" and public faith, true Christian humanity, and wise statesmanship alike demand strict adherence by "the constituted authorities of the Government" to the purpose or object of the war as thus declared by Congress and accepted by the people.

Resolved, That the demand of the President, in his proclamation of December 8, 1863 that the people of the States

wherein rebellion exists shall swear to abde by and support his proclamations of emancipation, in other words change, or submit to the change, at his dictation, of their State constitutions, local laws, and domestic institutions, not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, before such States or their people will by him be considered to have ceased to be in rebellion, and entitled to their constitutional rights of State government in harmony with the Government of the United States, is, in the judge and the laws of the United States, is, in the judge of the United States, in the suppose that the Bases of the United States, is, in the suppose that the Bases of the United States, is the suppose that the Bases of the United States, is the suppose that the Bases of the United States, is the suppose that the Bases of the United States, is the suppose that the Bases of the United States, is the suppose that the Bases of the United States are the supposed to the United States of the United Sta against the constitutional rights and sovereignty of Federal States, and virtually subversive of the constitutional Govern-ment of the United States, and of such a war we now record

ment of the United States, and of such a war we now record our disapproval.

Resolved. That in view of the immense power of war demanded by the President and supplied to him by a patrictic people, and hitherto wielded by him according to his own will, with little deference or regard to the opinions and convictions of the very large number, if not majority, of raithful Union citizens in the United States who have doubted or disapproved his policy in the conduct of the war and his extraordinary assumptions of executive rower, and in view of the dangers to constitutional liberty and the manifold evils that ever attend civil war, we desire peace and the replacement under its healthful and benign influence, with the least possible further waste of the blood and treasure of the people, of all the relations and functions of constitutional Government, has already been disposed of, virtually, by current evente."

Mr. Swann avowed the intention of himself and friends to push the sterd of emancipation "with whip and spur until the whole State of Maryland, from its centre to its circumference, shall be awakened to an edict of universal emancipation." He said that he did not believe that the Union could be reconstructed upon a sound and enduring basis until slavery has been extinguished in every State where it now exists.

The Philadelphia American of Saturday says that the Speaker of the State Senate having acquired positive

ment under its healthful and benign influence, with the least possible further waste of the blood and treasure of the people, of all the relations and functions of constitutional Government. State and Federal, now disturbed and enda gered; and we therefore deprecate all vindictive and revolutionary measures and policy, military or civil, as teading to this diseast on the country, to aggravate the evils and to intensity of the war and prolong its duration, and we animosity of the war and prolong its duration, and we animosity of the war and prolong its duration, and we animosity of the war and prolong its duration, and the animosity of the war and prolong its duration, and the country, to aggravate the evils and to intensity of a restoration of the Federal Union under the Constitution of a restoration of the Federal Union under the Constitution and leaving also to the people of each State, as their anguestion of the reput to the free constitutions, laws, and domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

The Philadelphia American of Saturday says that the possible further waste of the blood and treasure of the least possible further waste of the blood and treasure of the least possible further waste of the blood and treasure of the least possible further waste of the blood and treasure of the least possible further waste of the blood and treasure of the least possible further waste of the bloo

The previous question was not seconded, and Mr. Ar-NOLD proposing to debate the resolutions, they were laid over, under the rule.

INCREASED PAY OF SOLDIERS Mr. HOLMAN submitted the following resolution, up which he demanded the previous question :

Resolved, That the immediate increase in the pay of the Resolved. That the immediate increase in the pay of the private soldiers of the army is imperatively demanded by every consideration of justice and sound public policy; that such increase is especially necessary and proper in behalf of those soldiers who entered the army prior to the adoption of the present regulations as to bounties, and that the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to report a bill at the earliest practicable moment increasing the pay of the private soldiers to correspond substantially with the increase in tap price of labor and all articles of demestic consumption since the pay of the private soldier was fixed at thirteen dollars per month.

Mr. STEVENS. I ask the gentleman from Indiana to thange his resolution into one of inquiry.

Mr. HOLMAN. After so much delay, I think it proper Mr. HOLMAN. After so much delay, I think it proper that there should be a definite expression on the part of the House upon this subject. If the pay of our soldiers is to be increased it is time it were done. The subject has been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs several times as a matter of inquiry. Such resolutions have produced no result. The adoption of an imperative resolution can alone be effective. If gentlemen favor an increase of the pay of the private soldiers of our army, an imperative instruction must be adopted.

Mr. STEVENS, I hope the previous question will not

Mr. STEVENS. I hope the previous question will not e sustained
The House divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 56,

ioes 65. So the House refused to second the der he previous question.

Mr. STEVENS. I move that the resolution be referred

to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HOLMAN. If the resolution is referred to the Committee on Military Affairs under this motion, does it go there as an imperative instruction, or is it discretionary with the committee whether they will report the bill or

the motion to refer,

The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative, as follows:

Mative, as follows:

YEAS—Mesers. Alley, Allison, Ames, Anderson, Ashley, John
Baldwin, Baxter, Beaman, Blow, Boutwell, Boyd, Sroomall, Willi
G. Brown, Ambrose W. Clark, Freeman Clark, Cobb, Cole, Thon
T, Davis, Dawes, Dixon, Donnelly, Driggs, Ellot, Farnsworth, Fent
Frank, Gooch, Grinnell, Hale, Higby, Hooper, Hotchkiss, Asshel
Hubbard, John H. Hubbard, Hnriburd, Jenckes, Julian, Kasson, E
ley, Orlando Kellogg, Longyear, Marvin, McIndoe, Samuel F. Mil
Morrill, Daniel Morris, Leonard Myers, Norton, Orth, Patters
Perham, Pike, Pomeroy, Price, William H. Randall, Alexander
Rice, John H. Rice, James S. Röllins, Schofield, Shannon, Smith
Scanding, Estevens, Thayer, Tracy, Unson, Van Valkestersch, El

CONFISCATION OF REBEL PROPERTY.

We insert below brief sketches of several of the speeches which have been delivered in the House of Representatives on the bill proposing an amendment of the present emfiscation act, so as to make an absolute confisc the property upon which it shall be brought to bear.

Mr. VOORHEES said that there were several gentle en on his side of the House who desired to be he

men on his side of the House who desired to be heard, and that a vote could not be taken until they had had an opportunity to express their views." They, however, had no disposition to abuse the patience of the House, or to resort to any factions opposition to the measure.

Mr. SWEAT expressed his surprise that an attempt had been made to abridge or stifle discussion upon such an important subject as that of confaction. He denied the charge of Mr. DAVIS, of Maryland, that the minority came here to embarrase the Administration, and that they were not this the spritt in which the gentleman extended the right hand of fellowship to them while they were supporting the Administration in every act consistent with Christianity and civil zation, in putting down this rebellion? He threw back these charges into the teeth of the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. WASHBURNE informed the gentleman that Mr.

Mr. WASHBURNE informed the gentleman that Mr.

Mr. SWEAT said it was the duty of the ge be here. As to the charge that the minority of this House attempt to embarrass the Administration, and were see here for this purpose, he (Mr. SWEAT) would say, befo here for this purpose, he (Mr. SWEAT) would say, before God and the country, that the purpose of his heart and of his constituents was not to embarrass the Administration, but to aid it in putting down the rebellion. The minority had shown such a patriotic disposition on this floor, and had made no factious opposition. They had voted to aid the Government by furnishing men and money to an unlimited extent to end the war. It would be remembered the first blood in this war was shed in Baltimore, while the Massachusetis troops were passing through to defend the President and the capital, and to protect the laws and preserve the Constitution. The gentleman from Maryland came from that latitude, and he (Mr. SWEAT) understood that if there had been a fair and free vote in tre fourth that if there had been a fair and free vote in tre fourth would now be in his seat. The attack of the gentleman from Maryland was wanton, no provoked, and inexcusable The gentleman, therefore, was the last man entitled to make that charge.

Mr. SWEAT proceeded to say that the legislation now proposed was in effect to repeat the decision of the President that forfeiture of estates shall not extend beyond the lifetime of a person convicted of treason. He had one simple theory, namely: prosecute the war vigorously and earnestly, nutil the rebellion shall be subdued. Repeal all unconstitutional laws, and pass none but what are constitutional; and when armed rebellion is put down let the States come had, in welcome and let all careficine die. States come back in welcome, and let all questions of di-pute be settled by the proper judicial tribunals of the land He did not believe in the power of the President or Congress, or any other source outside of the Constitution, to blot out States and State lines, as advocated by certain persons in the country.

Mr. MORRIS delivered a speech in favor of the bil He did not see how the rebels could claim the protect of the Constitution, and he should not hesitate to concate their estates. The landholders of the South inacrated the rebellion, and they are responsible for the

Mr. ROGERS spoke at length in opposition to the bill. He said when an attempt was made to subvert the great principles which actuated our forefathers in the formation of the Constitution by the passage of the joint resolution of the Constitution by the passage of the joint resolution now pending, and which was in direct conflict with the organic law, he would be derelied in his duty did he not rise and solemnly protest against the unconstitutional legislation proposed. He believed there was a deliberate, wilful, and cherished design on the part of those supporting the Administration to override the Constitution, and to blot out the principles of constitutional liberty vindicated and maintained by Washington Laffaces Mailley and Jackson. He argued that they could no more conf cate estates beyond the life of the traiter than they con work attainder of blood, which was prohibited by t

THE DISTRESS AT THE SOUTH.

A gentleman who has spent several years in Macon Georgia, where he was engaged in business, and who recently escaped by means of a passport permitting him to visit Europe, reached Newark, New Jersey, where his riends reside, a few days since. His account of the condition of affairs at the South confirms the reports lately received from other refugees and the public journals. It is thus related by the New York Evening Post:

"The rebellion, he declares, is an utter failure; even the leaders see that success is out of the question, while the common people would hail with delight the restoration of the Federal authority. On the day this gentleman left Macon, one of the principal bankers of the place said to him: Our only hope now is that the Federal army will deliver us from our troubles; for without that intervenprevails; actual starvation is at the doors of hundreds of the poorer classes, and even those who supposed them-selves, from their possession of large means, beyond the reach of want, have found themselves reduced to compa-

rative poverty.
"The rebel authorities are enforcing the conin all parts of the South with pitless energy, forcing into the ranks men of all ages and conditions. Even gray-haired old men, so enfeebled by age that a month's priva-

the ranks men of all ages and conditions. Even gray-haired old men, so enfeebled by age that a month's privations in camp or field must put them in their graves, are snatched up by the officers of conscription, and the proposition recently made in the rebel Congress by Senator Brown, to force into the service every person in the Confederacy over the age of sixteen years, is literally carried out. This wholeaale conscript on has necessarily occasioned the greatest suffering, leaving entire families and communities without any means of detence or subsistence, and producing chaos and misery every where

"The greatest ignorance is said to exist among the people generally as to the condition of affairs at the North; they are tood that our people are subjected to a cruel despotism; that there is no liberty of speech or action; that the Government means to destroy the entire population of the South, and that were the Southern people at this moment to abandon their contest they would be punished by the severest penalties that malignity could invent. But even this, we are told, would not prevent a descrition of the rebel cause by the great mass of people, were opportunity afforded them; they would gladly run all risks and cheerially submit to the worst that might await them if they could only escape the rigors of rebel rule.

"Our informant says that he himself expected that upon landing from the steamer in this city he would be acized and hurried to prison as a suspicious character, and he adds that when, on coming ashore, he was permitted tog about his business without any molestation, and without notice even from any quarter, he was as much astonished

about his business without any molestation, and without notice even from any quarter, he was as much astonished as he well could be.

"The gentleman who furnishes these statements is known to us as entirely trustworthy and sincere, and hespeaks wholly of what he has seen and known. Three
years ago he wrote letters to persons at the North, with
whom he had dealings, asseverating in the strongest terms
that the South could not be subdued; that the North
would not fight, and that if it did, could not hold out in
the contest; now he delares the only hope of the South is in the advance of the Northern armies and the prostration of the infamous despotism which is eating out the vitals of Southern life and making the fairest fields desolate and

FROM CHATTANOOGA

CHATTANOOGA, JAN. 23.-Deserters say that John Morgan has arrived at Atlanta, and will start with a brigade composed of the Second Kentucky and Third Alabama regiments, cavalry, and mounted infantry, to cut the Chattanooga railroad. Morgan made a speech at the Washington Hotel, declaring that the Yankee army must evacuate Chattanoogs. The rebel Gen. Wheeler is on the eve of a raid. It is believed he will turn in the direction of Loudon and Knoxville.

On the 20th instant a fight took place near Russellville. Ağlarge rebel force attacked an Obio regiment on picket, killing Adjutant Smith and four men, wounding fourteen, and then drove the regiment to Blain's Cross-Roads. We lost one piece of artillery.

Generals Grant and Butterfield arrived to-day.

RECONSTRUCTION IN ARKANSAS. CAIRO, JAN. 25 .- Col. Caldwell, of the 3d Iowa, brings some interesting information from Little Rock concerning the reconstruction movement in Arkansas. The State Convention, which assembled on the 8th instant, had about completed its labors. Much of the greater portion of the State was represented, and no deliberative body ever assembled in the State comprised more solid worth and intelligence than this convention. An article prohibiting slavery was adopted with but one dissenting vote. The constitution is to be submitted to the people on the second Monday in March, at which time the Sta'e officers and members of the Legislature are to be elected. The Legislature is to meet on the third Monday in April. The action of the convention is universally satisfactory to the loval men. It is believed that the loyal citizens will be able to polt twenty thousand votes for the Constitution. The convention will recommend a suitable person for Pro-